

ethnography. Even in the tourism cases, often indigenous people are not considered key economic players in the contexts of economic development. In "Ethnic Entrepreneurs," Monica DeHart contributes an important critique of economic development, well as a fine-grained ethnography about ethnicity as a key factor to both Guatemalan development and the global economy. The problem with many prior development models has been the bias that indigenous people, especially those in Latin America, have been serious impediments to economic development. Conceived of as traditional and equating that with economically conservatism and risky avoidance, indigenous people have been imagined as the opposite of the entrepreneurs of the Global North. Reviewing economic anthropological studies of indigenous economic practices in Guatemala, but also Ecuador, Mexico, and Peru, would expose the fallacy of such reasoning. What DeHart does that these previous ethnographers do not is look directly at ethnicity in relation to economic practices from Maya communities to state and transnational levels of the economy. One of the end results of her analysis is to show how Mayas balance cultural practices and traditions with an outward-looking orientation toward global markets. Although this may seem to be contrary to development practitioners, government officials, and businesspersons from the Global North, ethnographers will recognize the kinds of subjects that DeHart describes.

DeHart observes that ethnicity can be regarded as intrinsically significant element in the marketing of products that is mutually recognized by the ethnic entrepreneurs themselves and increasingly by large transnational companies like Walmart and governments like the United States, Guatemala, and other Latin American countries. Most likely this development is being paralleled elsewhere in the world. What is most striking about the kinds of economic development that DeHart discusses is that it is not of the same kind that has been discussed in ethnographic economic analyses of ethnic tourism. The products that Maya entrepreneurs are developing are not necessarily the handicraft products one would associate with indigenous people. In fact, handicrafts have been on a decade-long decline as consumers' tastes have changed. Clearly, the entrepreneurs that DeHart describes are looking rationally at consumer practices and developing products, like beauty and spa lotions, that will have more mass appeal than traditional Maya handicrafts.

DeHart's analysis goes beyond the discussion of product development to explore how Mayas themselves consider what economic development means and whether there is a Maya way of practicing and promoting it. The chapters dedicated to this are the ethnographically richest in the book. It is here that DeHart shows how politically contentious development can be in Maya communities. She presents Mayas own critical reservations and expectations about grassroots economic development, revealing that they are concerned with the overall impact of development on who become community leaders, what are equitable distributions of resources, knowledge, and earnings, and how such changes can be reconciled with Maya cultural ideologies and identities.

DeHart demonstrates why ethnicity as a marketable quality and as an intrinsic quality for economic development – an underlying cultural logic that can be an economic – has come into being in such places as Maya towns in Guatemala and within ethnic groups within the United States. She explores the ways that free trade agreements, such as NAFTA and DR-CAFTA, and other transnational flows of commerce and immigration work in concert with community-based grassroots development. In order to demonstrate how this is not just a specific-to-Guatemala phenomenon, she describes in one chapter the "Digital Diaspora" project, a neoliberal initiative in the United States to use Latin American immigrants as agents from economic development. While this example certainly illustrates the transnational business and governmental processes behind ethnic entrepreneur-focused development may be widespread, this case study does not fit comfortably with the rest of this book, which takes a close look at one particular community-based development organization. Had there been a more direct connection between the Maya development organization and the "Digital Diaspora" project, other than they are both part of the same neoliberal economic and political processes, its inclusion would have provided a more nuanced understand at both the local Maya community politics and national level Guatemalan politics.

The other element of DeHart's ethnographic description and analysis that would give economic anthropologists pause is the lack of economic data. There are very few specifics about how much money is being made by the Maya development organization, how profits are divided, or what other kinds of economic changes in the community are resulting from the development. Instead, she concentrates on the political: the tensions within the community, the difficulties and challenges of working in Guatemala and with transnational companies, and even the problematic of branding ethnic identity and believing that there is some kind of economic-orientation tied to ethnicity. It is this attention to the politics behind and surrounding the convergence of community-based development and global transnational development around the figure of the ethnic entrepreneur that DeHart's arguments are most powerful.

Walter E. Little

Dilger, Hansjörg, and Ute Luig (eds.): *Morality, Hope, and Grief. Anthropologies of AIDS in Africa*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2010. 353 pp. ISBN 978-1-84545-663-4. (Epistemologies of Healing, 7) Price: \$ 95.00

This edited volume is a collection of articles presented at the symposium "AIDS and the Moral Order," held in 2005 near Berlin, Germany. Hansjörg Dilger, one of the symposium's organizers, wrote the introduction to this volume. He explains that the contributions in this edited volume address three aspects that are characteristic of the anthropological study of HIV/AIDS in Africa. First, some of the articles emphasize that HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa is embedded in processes of globalization and global inequalities. Second, most of the articles are based

on ethnographic case studies exploring how the epidemic impacts individuals and groups. Third, the articles highlight the multiple and often contradictory responses of individuals and communities, making apparent moral fault lines within groups and societies. The book is structured around three themes: (1) “Giving Hope? Networks of Healing, Treatment, and Care,” (2) “Moralities at Stake,” and (3) “Experiences of Grief, Death, and Pain.”

The book starts with Jean Comaroff’s article, who emphasizes that HIV/AIDS made explicit and exacerbated global configurations of integration and exclusion and of wealth and poverty, but also lead to powerful activism aiming at overcoming marginalization. Adam Ashforth analyzes in his contribution the complexities of the cultural dynamics surrounding the epidemic in South Africa. Further, he discusses the possible impact of antiretroviral therapy (ART) on the stigma of the disease and convincingly argues that long-term investigations of local contexts are essential for designing successful HIV/AIDS interventions. Hanne O. Mogensen analyzes in her article the factors influencing decisions to disclose one’s HIV status in Uganda. Presenting rich ethnographic data, she demonstrates that disclosure is not an absolute process but depends on the social context and is carefully negotiated by all involved. She argues that the “availability of drugs has given room for new forms of careful speech that transgress the dichotomy of hiding and disclosing” (75). Susan R. Whyte, Michael A. Whyte, and David Kyaddondo describe in their contribution the moral and ethical dilemmas of health workers in Uganda in relation to ART. The fascinating analysis of their field data strongly suggests that healthcare is often most effective when ethical rules of confidentiality and anonymity are broken. The authors conclude saying that “[c]odes of ethics are generally atemporal, whereas moralities and their dilemmas unfold in the processes of social life” (99). Hansjörg Dilger describes how family care for relatives suffering from HIV and AIDS in rural Tanzania is embedded in complex processes connecting family biographies and conflicts, migration, economic issues, social and moral pressures, and the experience of suffering and death. Elizabeth Colson’s contribution is a social history of the epidemic among the Zambian Gwembe Tonga informed by the author’s long-term involvement with the Tonga and rooted in a deep understanding of issues affecting their lives, such as outward migration, poverty, and local struggles for solidarity and moral integrity. She documents various local responses to the epidemic and points at important issues that could be followed up in future anthropological research, such as new dilemmas arising from ART. Aud Talle describes how cultural difference between the Massai and other ethnic groups, as perceived by the Massai, disparage and discourage intimate relations between the Massai and members of other ethnic groups, what may explain the relatively low infection rate among the Massai. Ivo Quaranta shows that HIV/AIDS produced a political commentary in Cameroon based on individuals’ experiences of social, political, and economic realities. In other words, the physical signs and the experiences of HIV and AIDS are resulting in “embodied narratives”

(174). Graeme Reid draws attention to the topic of homosexuality in South Africa, analyzes AIDS discourses of silence and denial, and argues that denial is a fertile ground for the proliferation of discourses in the form of gossip, rumor, and scandal and results in coded ways of speaking about the disease in public. Liv Haram explores moral dilemmas among the Meru in Tanzania regarding mourning and grief and argues that the moral code of mutual sharing and obligations and of caring for the sick and burying the dead is compromised by the current economic stress faced by many Meru. P. Wenzel Geissler and Ruth J. Prince analyze the meaning of touch among the Luo in Kenya in relation to the AIDS epidemic. Their fascinating and richly detailed article convincingly argues that touch as well as avoiding touch are central for understanding dynamics of relationships, including relationships with people suffering from AIDS or having died from AIDS. Johanna A. Offe argues in her excellent article that widows in Zambia are regarded as vulnerable but also as dangerous. The latter view exacerbates their marginalization in daily life, though some widows actively use these meanings to control their relationships and economic activities. Angelika Wolf demonstrates that children, who were intensely involved in caring for their sick and dying parents, have developed a sense of belonging before their parents died. This, together with obtaining social and other support, increases the likelihood that the children found a child-headed household after the death of their parents. Frederick Klaitis suggests in his contribution, that many difficulties created by HIV/AIDS stem from the disease’s close connection to death and how death reminds people of procreation, which determines to some degree the stigma of the disease.

The volume has some minor shortcomings: (1) Even though the copyediting of the publication was carefully done, the editors missed a couple of typos. For example, the Zulu term in footnote 2 on page 100 for confidentiality and secrecy – *imfihlo* – is misspelled as *imfilho*. (2) The volume would have needed some thorough general editing to better organize the structure of the articles, to clarify thoughts and concepts, to eliminate unnecessary inclusions, and to avoid repetitiveness. (3) Some of the articles are a bit fragmented, such as Dilger’s, whose discussion of political economy is not well integrated with his case study. (4) At times, the authors make statements that need to be better explained. For example, Colson refers to the Tonga “concept of themselves as responsible human beings” (145) but does not sufficiently explain this concept. (5) Even though several authors mention that their case studies exemplify not only local realities but are also representative of the situation in other localities, the cross-cultural comparison is not well developed in some of the articles. (6) The symposium was held in 2005, but the papers were published in 2010. As issues related to HIV/AIDS are rapidly changing, articles become quickly outdated and need to be revised. Some of the contributions in this volume were not sufficiently updated. Perhaps the most dramatic change in the past years is the massive roll-out of ART, to which some of the authors refer in their articles. Some articles do not include the current literature.

For example, Reid cites a publication by Marc Epprecht from 2004, but not his more recent and relevant publication of 2008.

These issues, however, are minor and do not diminish the quality of individual articles and the volume as a whole. Nevertheless, the publication has two major shortcomings: (1) While some of the contributions have the potential to influence and shape HIV/AIDS intervention programs, most authors did not attempt to provide explicit suggestions for policy makers and funders based on the findings of their studies. The articles of (a) Colson; (b) Geissler and Prince; (c) Mogensen; (d) Offe; (e) Whyte, Whyte, and Kyaddondo; and (f) Wolf seem particularly relevant and I hope that the authors collaborate with others involved in HIV/AIDS programs applying their findings to design, improve, and evaluate interventions. (2) Some articles give the impression that the authors are not quite firm with the medical literature on the epidemic. One example is Ashforth's statement, who argues that despite receiving ART, AIDS patients are only expected to live an additional four years (43). This is a problematic statement. Overall, even the "weakest" first-line treatment should add more than four years to the lives of individuals on ART. It is true that mortality among individuals on ART is high during the first three months of treatment, possibly related to starting treatment late with its severe immune suppression. Yet, overall, ART tends to be more successful than Ashforth seems to imply. In contrast, Colson seems to be more familiar with the medical literature and correctly refers to an emerging medical crisis, namely that those on ART are beginning to develop resistance. The standard first-line drug regimen, a low-cost stavudine-based ART regimen, includes more side effects and has also high incidents of nonresponsive clients despite satisfactory adherence. Colson's valuable observation, corroborated by medical facts, is an important topic for future anthropological research.

Despite these shortcomings, the volume as a whole is a thought-inspiring collection of articles describing and analyzing how individuals and groups explain, interpret, and respond to HIV and AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa. Some of the articles are of outstanding quality and will motivate anthropologists to design additional anthropological studies, which will help to better understand the local realities of HIV/AIDS, their impact on individuals and groups, and how to alleviate the immense suffering caused by the epidemic.

Alexander Rödlach

Donnan, Hastings, and Fiona Magowan: *The Anthropology of Sex*. Oxford: Berg, 2010. 216 pp. ISBN 978-1-84520-113-5. Price: £ 17.09

As Carol Vance noted in 1991, anthropology is in a process of rediscovering sexuality as one of the central topics of the discipline. Some of this new attention to one of the most central aspects of human life derives from political, social, and health related urgencies of modern times: the struggle against the global HIV and AIDS pandemic, the role of sexuality and gender among dis-

enfranchised people in changing political economies of the Global South, and the heated debates in the Western world around sex work, migration, and human trafficking. This attention has yet to translate into new theoretical developments in anthropology on the issue of sex and sexuality, but perhaps the hesitancy of many scholars is tied to this very politicization of sexuality and sex research.

The new book by Hastings Donnan and Fiona Magowan adds significantly to the growing literature on the ways in which anthropology can approach sexuality while at times it adopts popular discourses and genres which dissolve the distinction between scholarly and political or moral debates that dominate the European public sphere in which the authors work and live.

First and foremost the book is very well written and makes use of a vivid and illustrative language that captivates the reader and seduces her or him to turn page after page. Chapter titles like "Forbidden Frontiers" and "Dancing Desires" and section titles like "Sex and the Church: No 'Monk'ey Business" points to the efforts of the authors to write a book which is readable and enjoyable, even if it sometimes becomes a little to lurid as in the section entitled "Borderless Brothels" which discusses women's sale of sexual favours around US-Mexican borders.

The book is replete with greatly illustrative examples of many aspects of human sexuality today, like processes of attraction and seduction, the making of sexual looks, erotic bodies, transgender sex, nudity and "hot" topics like "fat fantasies" and "sexual surgery." As such the book stands out as one of the few works of the kind which deal with the materiality of sex and the erotic body, and makes the apt ethnographic argument that in order to understand the complexity of the sensual and sexual body across cultures we need to abandon an essentially Western view of what constitutes the erotic body and what justifies its modifications. Besides citing most classic anthropological works on this broad topic, from Bronislaw Malinowski and Margaret Mead to Mary Douglas, Kenneth Reed, Pat Caplan, and Sherry Ortner, the book also draws on a vast literature emerging from recent anthropological debates as well as from other disciplines like psychology, sociology, history, women's studies, sexology, and religious studies. It seems to have been one of the very premises of this book to introduce a cultural and social approach to sexuality in a cross-disciplinary fashion. Given the manifold ways in which sexuality can be discussed and addressed this book presents a daring attempt. As such the book is much more than an anthropology of sex, it is an anthropological approach to the great variety of research and public debates on human sexuality today.

Initial chapters on important new issues like erotic economies and the cultural variation of complex intersections between sex, money, power, kinship, tourism, and migration are not only intriguing and interesting, sometimes investing new concepts, Donnan and Magowan also take the discipline beyond the highly polarized debates around issues like prostitution, pornography, and human trafficking. Yet, towards the end of the book it seems to gradually change style and genre as it begins to deal di-